

PEACE NEWS

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Negotiating A Plan

Plans for carrying out an exchange of British and German wounded prisoners of war through the Swedish port of Gothenburg are now nearing completion. The negotiations have not yet been concluded in all details, and the exact time of exchange is unknown.

THIS news (published in the Daily Express, Oct. 1, from its Stockholm correspondent, who quoted Swedish newspapers for the report) indicates the drawing to a successful conclusion of negotiations with the enemy announced in the House of Commons nearly two months ago.

Answering, on Aug. 4, a question "whether, in view of a recent German broadcast announcement, negotiations for the exchange of badly wounded prisoners from that country are in progress," Mr. Eden said: "I am glad to say that negotiations on this subject have, after a long interruption, been resumed."

This is a particularly interesting example of the possibility of negotiating with Germany in view of the apparent failure of the principle of negotiation implied in Mr. Eden's reference to the "interruption" of a previous attempt. The fact is that it was not the method of negotiation that failed to get results then but the misuse of it.

For the original attempt was by the dramatic broadcasting between the two countries of proposals and terms, in October, 1941. This was in itself an unsuitable method of negotiating, but it was made impossible by the fact that (to quote the Daily Express of Oct. 7, 1941)

"while the Germans filled in the interval (between one broadcast statement and the next) with music, the BBC made the most of the opportunity to speak to millions of Germans listening intently for details of the departure of the mercy ships."

It was the Nazis who, in terminating that radio contact, added that "negotiations will continue through diplomatic channels."

Britain's Deadly Disease — Paxophobia

Those whom the gods wish to destroy they first make mad. One of the best ways of destroying somebody you didn't like, assuming you had divine or sorcerous powers, would be to induce in him a revulsion to something essential to his continued existence.

Thus, the disease of hydrophobia, a form of canine madness, which, we are told, is characterized by a preternatural dread of water (as the name implies), was no doubt invented by some resentful witch who had been set upon by the village dogs.

Perhaps some equally evil-minded witch-doctor is at present hard at work in the jungles of Africa casting spells upon the unsuspecting British people. Or perhaps the White Man's God has been enraged by being conscripted against his will for Britain's war effort.

Anyhow, the appearance of a new mental disease which, by analogy, can best be called paxophobia, or the fear of peace, must be noted. (Medical journals please copy.)

THAT water is essential to life is well-known. That peace is equally necessary is becoming increasingly clear.

Before the war everybody knew that the next war would end western civilization. On September 3, 1939, we learned that war was to save western civilization.

Now we are offered the war as a substitute for civilization. It's easier to run, anyway. Civilization is a luxury in these days of utility products.

Paxophobia is a deadly disease. It is highly infectious, especially in districts where newspapers and radio sets abound. Over 90 per cent. of the population is now affected. The disease is characterized by an inability to think straight, which makes the basic loss of peace vitamins harder to counteract.

Any mention of peace or consideration of ways of attaining it is met by a look of horror and consternation, followed by a jumbled muttering of some or all of the following phrases: "Peace offensive" (a particularly insane phrase, which has been discussed in these pages before), "fifth-columnist," "unconditional surrender," "second front," "Trotskyist," "prosecution of war to successful conclusion" (that is as close a representation as possible of this sound), and "I'll have a pint" (this usually indicates a quick return to lucidity).

Other features of the disease are a

sporadic repetition of the word "democracy" in varying tones of voice and the use of the words "Peace is just what Hitler wants" as a sort of theme line which occurs at the crisis of an attack.

This is the most serious form of affliction, and shows just how insidious and concentrated paxophobia is. Peace, you see, is dreaded because it will do Hitler and the Nazis good. This is probably not true. But if it were, the significant point is that the fact that it will also do Britain good is ignored by the patient.

The sun, for instance, shines alike on the just and on the unjust, on Hitler's Hordes and on Churchill's White Legions. The sun is essential to the life of Britain, as it is essential to the life of Germany. But none of the patients fear the sun for that reason—in spite of the fact that the sun has compromised its neutrality by causing its appearances in this country to be strictly rationed.

No, paxophobia confines its nefarious activities to the subject of peace. It is depriving the body of our society of the sustenance which only peace can give it, so that our erstwhile democracy is rapidly succumbing to the total collapse which is the outcome of total war.

DREADED OUTBREAK

This national monomania is indicated in various ways, such as the use in the national press of the significant

CYRIL HUGHES
shows how people dread the peace they need to give them LIFE

phrase: "When peace breaks out." We seem to be witnessing a rerudescence of an affliction once described by Erasmus:

"... matters are come to such a pass that it is deemed foolish and wicked to open one's mouth against war, or to venture a word in praise of peace. . . . What makes for peace (men) run down in their sophistical speeches, or even basely conceal from the public; but whatever tends to promote their favourite war system they industriously exaggerate and inflame, not scrupling to propagate lies of the most mischievous kind. . . ."

And so on. Erasmus tried pointing out that peace was the most salutary, war the most destructive thing in the world for all concerned; but it was no use. Let us see what modern science can do to check this vile disease (far more deadly than, say, venereal disease, which, in fact, it largely encourages).

THE CAUSE—

Can we discover what causes paxophobia? There are one or two clues.

For instance, a prominent English stockbroker, quoted in The Financial News three days before war broke out, said: "Heaven help the Stock Exchange if it is peace." The Daily Express (Mar. 3, 1940) stated: ". . . the prospect of a peace offensive brought fairly heavy declines in home rails and some of the arms shares." The financial columns of any newspaper today tells of the profits war brings to the favoured stockbroker.

The fear of water in hydrophobia is brought about by the extreme irritability of the neck muscles involved in swallowing. No doubt for a person gorged with arms shares peace takes some swallowing, too. And those who fear peace for sound reasons are, unfortunately, powerful enough to cause others to fear it for no reason at all.

—AND CURE

The cause of the disease indicates the remedy. (Ministers of Health and Home Security please note.)

The mad dogs of the City of London (and Wall St.) must, of course, be muzzled. Patients suffering from paxophobia should be deprived as far as possible of the Daily Express, the Daily Mail, and other sources of infection. If the radio is allowed at all, listening should be confined to symphony concerts and Tommy Handley. The system should be cleared by the periodic administration of the distilled essence of Peace News and other anti-war periodicals.

In addition, plans should be made and quickly carried into practice for the creation of a peace in which the fruits of the earth are owned and controlled by the people who work to produce them, not by stockbrokers and financiers. A society must be achieved in which war is obviously something to be avoided and hated, peace obviously something to be preserved and loved.

TEN PER CENT

LIKE the war situation itself, the situation of Peace News Headquarters Fund has been beaten. After the best week, the worst. It may, I suppose, be explained by the fact that the £1,500 appeal from Headquarters itself was launched a fortnight ago. But Peace News expressly refrained from giving publicity to this appeal in order not to create confusion.

Well, there it is. Where I expected £50, £5 have been received. So we have still £183 to get to fulfil our obligation.

Contributions since Sep. 4: £5 4s. 6d. Total to date, £217 12s. 6d.

THE EDITOR

Please send contributions, plainly marked "HEADQUARTERS FUND" to Peace News, 3 Blackstock Rd., London, N.4.

Japan and her Prisoners

PACIFIST COMMENTARY EDITED BY "OBSERVER"

repression: a conspicuous example of that tyranny which, Mr. Churchill says, is the only enemy.

Strategic Retreat

THE autumn rains in Russia have begun. The Russian armies have reached the Dnieper, except in the south, where heavy fighting is still in progress. Large captures of men and materials have been conspicuous by their absence during the whole three months of this memorable campaign; and although the trend of sober military opinion seems to be that the Germans will retreat still further during the winter under Russian pressure, all the evidence points to the summer retreat as having been something of an achievement for the Germans also.

"It remains however a retreat under strict control . . . At a great price in territory and hopes relinquished, its strategic object may yet be attained. It is probable that considerable German forces may very shortly be disengaged: and the western Allies, who look forward to assuming a greater share of the burden of the land war, must expect to meet them, in Italy or elsewhere" (Times, Oct. 4).

Killing "Second Front"

WHAT will the Germans do with the forces they disengage? The experts appear to be of one mind on what they fear they may do with them.

"No doubt in the long view Hitler hopes to withdraw enough reserves from Russia not only to stabilize his Balkan front . . . but to drag ever-growing Allied resources into the maelstrom of Italy to the ultimate frustration of

the Second or Western front" (Gen. Martin, D. Telegraph, Oct. 4).

"We might be led to push into Italy such a large proportion of our total forces as to nullify the possibility of developing elsewhere, even next spring, any powerful alternative move against another and closer sector of what the Germans call 'Fortress Europe'" (Capt. Liddell Hart, D. Mail, Oct. 4).

It is thus admitted that Italy cannot develop into a "Second Front," which Gen. Martin defines as "mass-invasion across the Channel with all its manifold advantages of home bases close behind it." The German plan is: "Let the Allies get deeply engaged in Italy. Then, if possible, launch a smashing attack against them with forces withdrawn from Russia. Twenty divisions thus employed in Italy will do the work of 60 in France. The Second Front will be cheaply killed."

Effect of Russia "Foray"

IT is very difficult to make a true balance-sheet of the Russo-German war-situation. So little certain information reaches us from the Russian side. The Russians have every reason to be secretive. But may not the vast punitive expedition into Russia have achieved significant ends?

No doubt Hitler aimed at much more than the devastation of a vitally important productive area of Russia. But to have hamstrung the industrial and agricultural production of the Ukraine and the Donbas may count for a good deal. It is on the cards that the Germans have won an important respite by their harsh foray.

Russia's Need

IF this respite is real, what will be its political consequences? German propaganda is playing on the possibility of some sort of "arrangement" with Russia. That may

(Continued on page 2)

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Problems of Reparations

A WRITER in *The Economist* (Sep. 25) concludes a valuable account of the devastation wrought by the German armies in Russia with these words:

"It is highly significant that Moscow has so far been the only Allied capital in which the demand for reparations has been firmly and unequivocably stated... The question is still open whether Russia will ultimately put the stronger emphasis, in its reconstruction programme, on economic co-operation with the Allies or on reparations from Germany."

The issue raised in this somewhat cryptic sentence is important. The opposition seems at first sight surprising between post-war economic co-operation with the Allies and reparations from Germany. We have with good reason a salutary fear of exacting reparations from Germany, which was only recently given strong expression by the Miners' Federation. Yet Russia, which is generally reputed to be politically more realistic than ourselves, has plainly declared her determination to demand reparations.

It is an interesting example of the ambiguity of a word. Reparations has a different meaning in the different economic contexts of Britain and Russia. Russia's economy is such that it can absorb reparations without producing unemployment. The more of her own labour-power that Russia can save by compelling the Germans to do as much as possible of the necessary reconstruction, the better will the Russian planners be pleased. They have more than enough work to employ the labour that will be saved.

Britain is in a quite different situation. The problem that is giving the authorities a permanent headache is how to maintain full employment. To make the solution of the problem infinitely harder by demanding reparations from Germany would be fantastic. The contradiction should be noted by pacifists. In these days of Lease-Lend and total-war economics to abstain from demanding reparations is not a moral virtue.

The second point to be noted is the real nature of the choice with which Russia is to be confronted: either economic "collaboration" with the Allies, or "reparations" from Germany. In that orthodox language it sounds like the choice between a good thing and a bad. But the question really is: Who shall lease-lend to devastated Russia—the Allies, or Germany? If prosperity has come to the USA by lease-lending to Britain and Russia, why should not prosperity come to Germany by lease-lending to Russia?

The answer is that there is no reason at all why Germany should not prosper by making reparation to Russia. Let but one half of her industrial productivity now devoted to war be applied to reconstructing Russia, and both Germany and Russia will benefit. So, once more, let pacifists be wary of condemning the Russian demand for reparations. Very possibly they will be playing the game for American and British big business. For behind the simple Russian demand for reparations may well be concealed a determination to keep Germany in being as a great industrial power. A great industrial power Germany must remain if she is to rebuild the Russia she has destroyed. And, on the available evidence, it is a better destiny than any which the Allied statesmen contemplate for Germany.

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If we had stuck to Joshua . . .

By JOHN SCANLON

Copernicus has had his quater-centenary this year; but it has been overdone. The question whether he was Polish or German is not really important. The important thing is to examine whether the world would not have done better to stick to Joshua.

Admittedly Joshua made a mistake in saying he had stopped the sun going round the earth, but look at the much worse mistakes that have been made since we knew the earth went round the sun. For one thing, look at what has happened because Columbus, setting out to discover Japan, made a mistake and discovered America instead.

And look at what has taken place since we set out to find a back door to the new Spanish possessions, and discovered Russia. But for that we might still all have been good Catholics.

But perhaps this is rushing too far ahead. Let's go back to Joshua.

SO long as Joshua held the field, and the sun, practically everybody stayed in his own country. For instance, Ulysses built up a wonderful reputation for travel, yet compared with modern gallivanting Ulysses was hardly out of his own garden.

With a flat earth it was dangerous to go too far afield, because if you went too far, you were bound to reach the point at which the sea poured itself over the earth. That was a simple faith which did nobody any harm, and may even have done good.

But look at the harm since we knew we could go round the world without falling off. Columbus sets off to discover Japan and bumps into America. He comes back and reports and the Pope crowns Charles V Emperor of all the South Americas. Could other self-respecting European Powers stand idly by? Far from it. The position was intolerable.

There was first the need to share in the new spoils: which, of course, could only be done by fighting. But how could soldiers be expected to

fight against a man who could condemn them to hell-fire for all eternity after they had beaten him on this earth? There seemed no point in fighting. Men had to search for a new faith which would destroy the infallibility of the Pope and make divorce easier.

DISCOVERY OF RUSSIA

But see how we were dragged in. With practically no fleet we had to go a back road which we would never have dared to go if we had still believed the earth was flat. And what happened? We discovered Russia.

When this miracle was reported to the City of London we went and discovered it again. And to prove it, the skipper brought a real live Russian back. His name was Osea Nepea, and he slept in a jewelled night-cap.

But if we had stayed at home and never discovered Russia, would Lenin ever have come to the British Museum? Without that there would have been no revolution, no Comintern, and this war would have been practically over because of the unity

COMMENTARY

be propaganda only. But those who have studied the turns of Stalin's policy, and remember, in particular, what a thunder-clap the Russo-German pact of 1939 was, even to Soviet diplomats of the first rank, will be convinced that Stalin's ruling idea is to get Russia by hook or crook into a position in which the Soviet economy can begin to recover from the superhuman strains it has endured. He will not be beguiled from this objective by the dulcet prospects of an Americo-Anglo-Russian consortium, or the rosy dream of permanent peace.

It is, of course, perfectly true that Russia needs permanent peace more than any other great Power. Preparation for war is a tragic diversion from her conscious and avowed social purposes, as it is not for her Western "allies." War brings boom conditions to USA and Britain, because they are capitalist countries; it does not to Russia, because she has a socialist economy. But what chance is there of permanent peace so long as Britain and USA remain capitalist countries?

A German Badoglio?

UNLESS I am quite mistaken in my reading of Stalin's past policy, and its Marxist presuppositions, world-peace based on a triangular pact between USA, Britain, and Russia is to him so much boloney. His aim will be the simple one of maximum security for the USSR in a world which, he believes, is quite incapable of permanent peace until it has undergone a universal socialist revolution.

Therefore, I think, the political problem will present itself to him after this fashion. The primary question is: What will the future Germany be? It cannot remain Fascist in the Hitlerite sense, because Hitlerism has proved that it cannot exist without continuous aggression. Is there any practicable alternative to an eventual Communism? It is hard for us, it will be harder for Stalin, to see any alternative. But he will assume that Britain and America will do their utmost to prevent it. He will probably not put it past them to adopt the Germans, as we have adopted the Italians, as "co-belligerents," if only we can find the appropriate Badoglio.

The Polish Question

EASTERN Europe—above all Poland—he will conceive not so much as a buffer between Soviet Russia and the future Germany as a buffer between her and the new Americo-British variety of anti-Communism. And this struggle is now being actively engaged in Poland and the Balkans.

The Polish background is sombre enough. The bitterness between the pro-Soviet and Soviet-led partisans in Poland and the Polish-military underground organization directed by the Commander-in-Chief in exile has been steadily growing in the past year. Their two secret radio stations, Swit for the military underground, Kosciusko for the partisans, now issue quite regular communiques, not so much on their resistance to the Germans as on their own murderous and fratricidal warfare . . .

"If the present situation lasts until the day when the Soviet forces reach the frontiers of Poland, it is all too probable that, while the pro-Soviet partisans will make common cause with the Red Army, the Polish military underground will find itself in conflict with the advancing Soviet armies. In that case, the "suspended relations" between the Polish and Soviet Governments may rapidly move towards a state of war.

"This is the problem that must be given the highest priority in the Allies' discussions. If it is not settled in the next weeks, it will pass beyond any possibility of settlement." (Economist, Oct. 2.)

achieved by having no Comintern to begin with. It is only since the Comintern was disbanded that America has been able to throw all her weight into the scales of justice in the Argentine.

But the folly of not discovering Japan once the initial blunder had been made in trying to discover it was, if anything, worse than discovering Russia. America, having been discovered instead of Japan, purely from a sense of honour decided that it ought to go and discover Japan. By that time, of course, Japan had heard all about America and did not want to be discovered, with the result that Admiral Perry had to bombard his way in to ensure hospitality to strangers.

BRITAIN AND JAPAN

The matter did not end there. Britain had to discover Japan, and two traders were shot. This led to an exchange of courtesies and, in 1871, Japan was supplied with a Christian Church, a Bank, and a Brewery—all in one year. Next year a loan from the Bank of England at 9%.

Apart altogether from the new beer, this was enough to make any nation lose its head, let alone a young one just discovered. To give a loan, at 9%, to a practically unchristian people was a sign that we saw they had merit. In 1931, Rumania, still full of good Christians, had to pay 12%.

But apart from tinned salmon, woollen singlets at 2s. 6d. per dozen, and two operas—"The Mikado" and "Madame Butterfly"—is the world any better for having discovered a nation that wished to remain anonymous and did not really care if it never saw a Hollywood film?

These are a few of the things that should be pondered before we go into panegyrics at having destroyed the basis of Joshua's credit. If Columbus had stayed in Spain, as he would with a Joshua as ruler, the people of the Argentine would never have remained neutral, because they would not have been in the Argentine. The more one looks at this the more one is convinced that a flat earth was the right thing for the kind of people who had to live on it.

WORDS OF PEACE—41

For Civilization

Goethe in 1830, at the age of 81, defended as follows his refusal to give support in 1812-14 to the German war of liberation from Napoleon's tyrannical rule.

I AM not a warlike person and have no liking for war; so war-poems from my pen would have been like a very badly fitting mask for my face. For how could I have written songs of hate with no hatred in my heart? The only thing of importance to me is the rise from barbarism to civilization ("Kultur"), and so how could I hate the French, who belong to one of the most civilized nations of the globe and to whom I owe so large a part of my own culture?

As for national hatred, you will always find it in its strongest and bitterest form on the lowest levels of civilization. There is indeed a stage where it disappears completely and one stands in a sense above the nations, becoming sensitive to the prosperity or misery of another nation as if it were that of one's own. This high stage of civilization was kindred to my nature, and I had long accustomed myself to it, before I reached my 60th year.

FAMINE IN INDIA

"For nearly a year now friends of India in this country have been trying to draw attention to the fact that there is famine in India—famine for which the British Government is criminally responsible."

If this statement comes as a surprise to people who have only recently learned for the first time (from reports in the popular press) of the shocking conditions in India, it serves to emphasize the need for a wider distribution of publications of, for example, the Indian Freedom Campaign.

In particular, all concerned for the welfare of India should read and make known that organization's latest production, "Indian Famine: The Facts," of which the above is the opening sentence, and which gives evidence in support of its indictment of the British Government. It is obtainable from the IFC, 8 Endsleigh Gdns., W.C.1, for 1d.

Peace News will contain

Six Pages

in the issue dated

October 15, 1943

Please order your copies early.

Youth in Wartime and After

by Dr. HILDA OLDHAM

We were looking up at some ash keys, one of the many of Nature's playthings loved by all children. Roger, aged ten, corrected my name for them. "We call them propellers," he said.

Thus has the world of the child been transformed by the war into a strange place in which some of us lose our way.

IN pre-war days the combative urges of the youngsters was manifested by playing at Red Indians and fighting rough fights with each other on any or no pretext. Today the child's war games are more sophisticated.

I often pass a slum in my daily walks, and most days I see there a very solemn procession of youngsters, boys of ages ranging from six to ten or eleven. Each carries a tin box and two sticks; they stand in pairs, their heights well graduated, the taller boys at the front. Suddenly they begin beating their tins with perfect rhythm, then they march forward in time to the "music." Very solemn and much in earnest, these little soldiers parade the streets. They are not out for pennies; they do not beg; they have become part of the war machine; to drill, to march, to be little soldiers has become for them a categorical imperative; they must march.

These children are growing up in a war world; some of them have never known any discussions in the home that did not involve thoughts of fighting, bombing, and all kinds of destruction.

INJURY TO ADOLESCENTS

This breathing the air of war is not so injurious, however, to the young child as to the adolescent. The young child may, when the war ends, become a part of the world of peace and the old war world may gradually retreat into oblivion.

Food Relief and Peace

YOUR leader-writer is of course correct in saying that the AGM resolved that the Armistice Campaign should take precedence over all the Union's other activities, and he is right in rebuking the membership for not being as good as their word. Has the movement changed its mind since the AGM or did it then not say what it really meant?

I think it did not say what it meant. As the issue was put to the vote no-one who wanted to vote for negotiated peace at all could do other than vote for the Armistice Campaign and for its having precedence over all other activities. And that begs the whole question of ends and means.

Negotiated peace is obviously more important than food relief, because more adequate relief is one of the blessings of peace, the greater includes the less. But it doesn't follow that you can get the greater. If you cannot persuade the nation to save starving children in friendly countries, to demand the slight negotiations and to take the negligible risks that relief entails, you probably have no chance of getting the country to demand negotiations on the main issue. The best way to develop the "negotiating mind" is to get the nation to make up its mind to negotiate on something, however small.

That is why many of us are so distressed when Food Relief campaigning is spoken of as a sort of diversion from the main job of getting the war over. We think, on the contrary, that it is a much better way of keeping alive the ideals that make peace-making possible than any that advocates of Negotiated Peace have so far produced. Frontal attack is not always the best strategy. I do not say that we should not preach peace. Of course we must, and we ought to be ashamed of ourselves for not doing it in 1940, 1941, and 1942, quite apart from our record this year. I am talking about the "front" on which we are likely to advance. If we do advance we believe we shall have done something towards creating the "negotiating mind." In any case we shall have saved the lives of some children.

ROY WALKER,
Secretary, Food Relief Campaign.

OPEN LETTER TO PEACE PLANNERS

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Letters to the Editor

Owing to the large number of claims on our severely limited space, correspondents are urged to keep their letters very brief and preferably under 250 words.

Alternative to Conscription

ALL pacifists will agree that the vital needs of the civilian community include food, clothing, fuel, and shelter; and that the standard of these is jeopardized by total war. The real basis of objection to participation in the production of these is not that some part is directed to war purposes, but that the condition of undertaking them is industrial, as an alternative to military conscription.

A working, if not entirely typical, way out has been found in the case of agriculture through land "communities." Could not experiments be attempted in, e.g., building groups (like the Friends did in France during the last war), clothing guilds, and colliery partnerships leasing outcrops?

W. H. MARWICK
5 Northfield Cres., Edinburgh 8.

"State Money"

Just because I think John Scanlon's article (Sep. 24) very useful I would like to challenge his statement that "in war we have State money." Could he find time to explain what he thinks is the difference between the issue of money in war and peace times? I had supposed that the only difference was in quantity.

G. BALL
79 Victoria Rise, S.W.4.

Helping C.O.s

Would you be good enough to print a third letter from me? In the first place I want to thank all those who have written to me personally. I hope to reply to each letter. In the second place I want to repair an omission. I complained of the indifference of the pacifist movement as a whole to the problems of the CO but I forgot to mention and praise the work of the Central Board for Conscientious Objectors.

The work of this Board is well known to those of us who work for the COs of this war, and it is difficult to imagine what many lonely men would have done without its help. This help is freely given, and through the agency of the Board men in military prisons have been visited, their relatives contacted, and cases of undue severity reported to the proper authorities.

Therefore I would suggest to all those who feel with me that the pacifist movement in general has failed the CO that they do all in their power to support the Central Board.

MARGERY SOUTH

39 Nab Lane, Shipley.

blast London, Coventry, Plymouth, Exeter, Bristol, and many more. The youth of England and America have destroyed Hamburg, Bremen, Cologne, with all their beauty, and many more. Each adolescent has bombed in the name of humanity and for the salvation of generations to come.

WE HAVE DONE IT

Did I say that youth has done this? What an error! It is we—you and I—who have bombed these beautiful cities, it is we who have killed old people and babies. We used the sacred hand of youth with which to work our destruction. No wonder some of us turn uneasily in our beds!

Nothing redemptive need come from our regrets and remorse. But everything worth having may come out of it.

Nothing has ever struck me as so terrible or so tragic as to turn laughter into tears, especially when the laughter comes from the young or the very old.

This my generation has done, is doing, and for sometime will continue to do. The lovely laughter of the young man and woman we turn into tears of horror and despair, and to what end? If pacifists can make the end a final blow to war, then our remorse and agonizing regrets will be justified.

But if we take so much as a breathing space when the longed for peace comes, then we may have missed our chance for many years to come. In time of war, propaganda for peace may merely irritate. To ask the men and women who are putting all into the war machine to negotiate for peace now is to ask them to deny suddenly all they believe in and are living for.

WHEN IT'S OVER

When the war is over, then is the pacifist opportunity. He must not let the shouts of joy in victory die away before he points to the costs, the devastation of cities, the bombed homes, the broken homes, the wasted years of youth; the cripples, the nervous wrecks.

If youth is to be won to our side, we must not offer them safety; what do they care for safety when they have faced death in the air, on the sea, and bombs on the land? We must offer them service and adventure; the service to humanity no less, no easier, than the service they have done us in wartime. In this way, and in this way only, shall we begin to win the youth, and hence the world, for peace.

In a Women's Prison

IT seemed at the first distorting glance that Mary Gamble, in her review of the Prison Medical Reform Council's pamphlet was saying: "Prisons, because they are occupied by the lower classes are filthy places.

Pacifists, on the other hand, have nice clean habits. Let us make prisons fit for heroes." I do not believe that the majority of the prisoners in Holloway are dirty, and I do not find, by their statements that the contributors to the pamphlet thought so either. Prisoners cleaning officers' quarters were convinced that the officers were far dirtier than the prisoners. Actually, the apparent slovenliness of the officers was the result of their being able, perhaps even obliged, to leave all the clearing up to the prisoners. It is an offence for an officer to give any physical assistance to a prisoner in her work. The official attitude is rigidly that of overseer to slave.

I am inclined to think that the pamphlet itself lays too much stress on physical conditions, and too little on mental. I believe myself that the emotional atmosphere of prison is far more injurious to the health of the prisoner than the dirt. Prison atmosphere is calculated to produce or develop moral insanity, in some cases even mental insanity. In order to escape complete and violent despair each prisoner is compelled to suppress a great part of her normal personality. This temporary anaesthesia may not matter much to COs with short sentences, but it must matter terribly to those prisoners whose offences are caused by lack of personal independence or social responsibility. In that, as in other ways, the CO is in a privileged position. I am, however, far from agreeing with Mary Gamble that the CO has to be perpetually conscious of her difference from other prisoners.

I see the force of the argument that whilst we have prisons we should try to improve them, but I am afraid there is a danger of our urging that the public executioner should have sterilized rubber gloves instead of insisting that he must go altogether; for I have no doubt at all that the effect of imprisonment is lethal—"they're dead but they won't lie down." Mary Gamble's review and, in a slighter degree, the PMRC pamphlet itself only confirm this fear.

JOAN DEMPSTER
60 Warwick Av., Edgware.

Call-up Of Women

In the newest PN pamphlet, "Liberty in the War," Denis Hayes declares the compulsion of women for the army to be the "low-water mark of war-time freedom." The suggestion that the call-up of women is more immoral than the call-up of men carries with it an implication that women are to be regarded as second-class citizens, not having the same obligations as their male opposites.

RODNEY ELLIS

157 Hersham Road, Walton-on-Thames.

THE basis of the Peace Pledge Union is the following pledge which is signed by each member:

I RENOUNCE WAR AND I WILL NEVER SUPPORT OR SANCTION ANOTHER.

The address to which new signatures of the pledge should be sent, and from which further particulars may be obtained is:

* PPU HEADQUARTERS, *

Dick Sheppard House, Endsleigh St., W.C.1.

October 16

ON the ninth anniversary of the date on which Dick Sheppard sent his original letter to the press, the Movement is again holding an Anniversary Gathering at Friends House, Euston Rd., London. It is hoped that, as last year, many provincial members will be attending, as well as people from the London Groups; arrangements for hospitality on the Saturday night can be made.

The official proceedings open at 3 o'clock with a word of welcome from PATRICK FIGGINS, who will be followed by a concert from MICHAEL TIPPETT and a group of singers and players; there will be a short interval during the afternoon in which SYBIL THORNDIKE will give a reading.

At 4 o'clock the Art Exhibition is to be opened by ARTHUR WRAGG and, between then and 6 o'clock people will be free to have tea in the Friends House Canteen, visit the Pictorial Exhibition of the history of the PPU, and see the exhibition of paintings.

It is hoped that the evening entertainment will be opened by a rendering of Spanish dances and songs by the Basque House group. Then STUART MORRIS will speak briefly on the history of the Movement, to be followed by FRANK DAWTRY saying a word about its future. A book auction comes next. JOHN BARCLAY will be auctioneer and also, no doubt, will say a word on his own account.

An anthology of readings from the works of well-known pacifists will be given by JOHN MIDDLETON MURRAY, ALEX WOOD, LAURENCE HOUSMAN, STUART MORRIS, and MARY GAMBLE. It is probable that there will be further music before the end of the gathering, which will close at 8.30 on a note of corporate rededication to the pacifist cause.

The brochure programmes are now ready and one has been sent with each Group Letter which goes out from Head Office. They are priced at 1s. 6d. and cover admission to the whole gathering. It will help the organization greatly if you can order in advance from London Area Office, 8 Endsleigh Gdns., London, W.C.1, to whom also requests and offers of hospitality should be sent.

During the course of the year, we have very few opportunities to meet together in such large numbers to strengthen our faith in the future of the movement; and we shall benefit, not only individually but as a whole, from this occasion for joining with each other in fellowship.

D.P.

The following resolution was passed by the National Council of the PPU last weekend:

"This Council believes that the life of each human being is an organic whole, and that no part of the individual's behaviour is without influence upon the whole of his character and work. It believes therefore that the pacifist way of living should be based upon the highest integrity in every sphere of action, whether called private or public."

"Further, it holds that the PPU, being based primarily upon individual conscience, leaves each member free to fulfil his moral obligations as his conscience directs. It therefore must decline to tie its members down to any one ethical code, believing rather that it must rely upon the expression of honest conviction and the force of example to promote the way of life which shall bring peace to the world."

A surplus of more than £70 has been realized as a result of the annual Birmingham PPU garden party, held in August. This will be devoted to the Maintenance Fund of Birmingham's Dick Sheppard House. The party was held at "Whetstone," Edgbaston, Birmingham, residence of Mr. Henry Whittaker, who each year generously places the house and gardens at the disposal of the PPU, and it was opened by John Barclay. At a recent meeting of the Birmingham Council of the PPU thanks were extended to all those who assisted to make the party a success, and in particular to Mrs. Anne Jones and her organizing committee.

At the monthly meeting held at 47 Fore St., Hertford, on Sep. 25, a bring-and-buy sale was organized. Some new members were welcomed to an interesting and successful evening. The proceeds (about £6) are to be divided between the Food Relief Campaign and the Special CO Week appeal.

Famine: Some Improvement?

"In view of the better harvest in Greece, the improvement in recent months in the food situation in Athens and other Greek cities and towns seems likely to be maintained." (Mr. Dingle Foot, House of Commons, Sep. 24).

"If the Allies fail to invade Greece before another winter, bringing with them large quantities of food, the Greek race will be threatened with extinction" (Konstantin Sharounas, until recently general secretary of the Ministry of Finance in the Athens Government, in a report to the US Greek relief representative in Turkey, according to the Manchester Guardian, Sep. 30).

UNFORTUNATELY, the Greek spokesman's picture of the situation is probably more true. It agrees with M. Exintaris's warning a few weeks ago when he pleaded for an additional 2,000 tons monthly of relief supplies. It is consistent with the appeals, still unanswered, from the Swedish-Swiss Commission in Greece.

We say again that a crisis is likely to come—during this winter if no further food supplies are imported, and it will probably come before the end of this year.

Mr. Foot also reported increases in bread and fat rations in Belgium. Normal consumers are to receive 62½ oz. of bread instead of 55 oz., and 4 oz. of fats instead of 3 oz. weekly. This is a real improvement, but unfortunately it is probably a temporary one.

Such fluctuations are no excuse for complacency, and it still remains true that only supplies through the blockade can arrest the steady decline to the health of the Belgian nation,

London "Co-op" & Negotiated Peace

NOTICE has been given of a motion (signed by 55 members) to be discussed at the October Quarterly Meetings of the London Co-operative Society Ltd. in the following terms:

"This meeting of LCS members deplores the continued slaughter of fellow-co-operators and trade unionists in belligerent countries, and calls upon the Government to take immediate steps for the opening of peace negotiations."

Members who can help by moving this resolution at sectional meetings (especially at Barking, Becontree, Brondesbury, Fulham, Hampton, Southend, Twickenham, and W. Hendon) should write to G. F. Dutch, 129 Collier Row Lane, Romford, at once. All pacifist members of the LCS are urged to attend one of the sectional meetings or the final meeting to vote for the motion and also to oppose a "second front" motion which has been tabled.

These meetings range from Oct. 19 to 23. Details may be obtained from any Co-operative store. Admission is by share book only.

Another experiment in holding an open-air meeting to advocate ending the war by a negotiated peace has proved so successful that it is to be repeated.

This is at Hanley, where, on Sep. 24, a meeting was held in the Market Square and addressed by Frank Maitland of Newcastle-upon-Tyne, on "Negotiated Peace Now!" A good crowd gathered right at the start and stayed on till after blackout time (writes the secretary of the PPU N. Staffs. Region). There was no heckling, and questions were asked in an orderly manner.

Another meeting will be held tomorrow (Sat.) at 6 p.m., when Henry Hilditch will speak on the same subject.

IMPORTANT BOOKS FOR PEACE NEWS READERS

Second Hand Bargains:

Testament of Friendship, Vera Brittain, 4s. Programme for Agriculture, Lord Addison and others. Foreword by R. S. Hudson, 6s.

Journey to a War, W. H. Auden and Christopher Isherwood, 5s.

Owen Glendower, John Cowper Powys. Excellent condition, 8s. 6d.

New—Special Cheap Edition:

The Betrayal of Christ by the Churches. John Middleton Murry, 2s. 6d.

Latest Pamphlets:

Scotland and the War, Archie Lamont, 6d.; Prison for Women, Kathleen Lonsdale, Ethel Mannin, 4d.; The New Indian Rope Trick, Reg. Reynolds, 6d.

Cash with Order, plus postage, from: THE PEOPLES BOOK SERVICE (P.N.), 18, Noel Street, off Wardour Street, W.1. (Write for list, 1d.)

particularly of the people in large towns and cities.

Fortunately there is no sign of a slackening in the activity of local workers in this country. A New Malden youth club last month arranged a debate between Roy Walker and a speaker from the Ministry of Economic Warfare, Mrs. Dayas Just. Two votes were taken on a resolution to extend controlled relief, one for under-twenty and the other for adults who were present at the meeting. Both votes went in favour of relief by a good majority.

The tragedy of starvation in a world of plenty is underlined by a recent Daily Express report headed "Too much wheat is a worry" and explaining that "The problem of too much wheat which has caused western farmers (in Canada) endless worries, is now reaching solution." The solution is to store the grain "in vast storage bins" built for the purpose "until shipping permits greater exports."

The extent of Australian surpluses has also been underlined by the Commerce Minister's generous declaration that "Australia could supply all the wheat needed for the starving people of Bengal" if the ships can be found. The Indian Freedom Campaign is taking vigorous action to make known the facts about the present famine in India.

HILTON'S SENTENCE "SUSPENDED"

Following two months of sustained pressure upon the War Office by the Central Board for C.O.s, influential persons, and groups and individuals in all parts of the country, the sentence of 2 years' detention passed upon Stanley Hilton, of Rochdale, has been suspended.

He has now been released from Riddrie detention barracks, Glasgow, where he has been confined since his fourth court martial (on Jul. 26) and is with an army unit in S.W. Scotland.

The difficulty about a suspended sentence is that it may later be "revived," and further news is anxiously awaited.

GEORGE P. ELPHICK, who has been prosecuted five times by the Lewes Borough Council for refusing to do fire-guard duty, has received two summonses to appear at Lewes police court on Oct. 19 for further refusal. George Elphick, who is a member of the FoR, has already been to prison four times for refusal to do fire-watch.

Another case of "cat and mouse" treatment on the fire-guard issue is that of **Leonard A. Bird** who is being prosecuted for a third time in a little over three months. The hearing is for Oct. 4 at Huddersfield police court, the charge being refusal to do fire-guard duties.

Jean Layton, of Sherwood Hall, Finchley, was sent to jail for two months at Bow St. on Sep. 29 for defaulting on fines of £10 and £5, with £5 5s. costs, for not fire-watching at her business address. She said she objected to fire-watching on conscientious grounds and refused to pay the fines (reported the D. Express).

* * *

Disgusted with "the way war is conducted," Miss Edith Snowden, of Gordon Sq., London, gave up her job at the Admiralty after three years, reported the Evening Standard, Oct. 2, which added:

"She told the London Conscientious Objectors Tribunal at Fulham today that she then joined the WAAF, but after some time realized that on conscientious grounds she could not continue to obey orders. After being interrogated she was discharged."

"Since then she had been doing voluntary work with the Friends' Ambulance unit at a hospital. Miss Snowden was registered as an objector, and directed to continue her hospital work."

* * *

The right of a doctor at the Mental Hospital, Cardiff, to have donations for the South Wales Regional Board for C.O.s sent to him at the hospital was expected to be challenged at a meeting of Cardiff City Council this week. The doctor—J. Bernard Phillips—not only works at the hospital but resides there also, and an appeal for funds for the S. Wales Regional Board asked that contributions should be sent to him.

Dr. Phillips appeared before the S. Wales Tribunal last week and was given non-combatant duties with a recommendation to the RAMC.

For some time Frank H. Jones, F.L.A.A., A.C.I.S., has given valuable help to C.O.s faced with Income Tax problems. As a contribution to "CO Week," Mr. Jones has offered to devote the profits on his book "A Guide to Company Balance Sheets" (7s. 6d., 8s. 1d. post free) to the funds of the CBCO in respect of all copies ordered direct from Mr. Jones, 1 Northumberland Parade, Station Rd., N. Harrow, Middlesex (mentioning "CO Week").

ADVISORY BUREAUX

Ferndale and Tylorstown (Glam.) now: Eddie Phillips, 97 Taff St., Ferndale, Rhondda. North Eastern Regional Secretary: Leslie Kirkley, 76 Amerton Rd., Leeds 8.

Reading.—Mrs. Vera Flower, 92 Kendrick Rd., Reading. (Reading 2621.)

Rochester and Chatham (Kent) now: Ray Parsons, 256 Rochester St., Chatham. Skipton (Yorks) individual adviser.—Arnold C. Waterfall, 10 Sheep St., Skipton.

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ACCOMMODATION

FOR ALL properties to be let or sold in N.W. London and Districts, apply to McCraith and Brooks. Auctioneers and Surveyors, 44 Market Place, N.W.11. (Speedwell 9888, 3 lines), who will give special attention to the requirements of pacifists.

EDUCATIONAL

FIND RECREATION and new power to serve through speaking and writing. Correspondence (also visit) lessons 5s., classes 1s. 6d. Dorothy Matthews, B.A., 32 Primrose Hill Rd., London, N.W.3.

FREE MOUNT, Bacton, Hereford. Progressive education and communal home from 5 years in lovely estate parkland. Individual care and tuition, modern health principles, own produce. Katherine Young and Peter Young, M.A. (Cambs.).

SHERWOOD SCHOOL, Epsom (Prog., Co-ed, Community; boarding and day; 3-18) is extending premises. A few vacancies still remain. Margaret Barclay, B.A., Harold Pratt, B.A.

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ACCORDIONS bought, sold, and part-exchanged; satisfaction guaranteed; all sizes; good selection. 43 Perth Rd., Leyton, E.10.

C.O. HAS UNIQUE Plastic Lighters suitable for pipes. Something different. 6s. 9d. post free. Wheeldon, 98 Long St., Burton-on-Trent.

DOG LOVER, unable to pay fancy price, offers good home for black cocker spaniel puppy, dog. Price and details to Hughes, 78 Meole Cres., Shrewsbury.

FOR SALE, Well rooted yearling bushes. Blackcurrants, redcurrants, whitecurrants, gooseberries; raspberry canes. Wallflower. Sweet William and cabbage plants. Prices on application. Bates, Baynham, Yatton Ross-on-Wye.

LAMB BRAND Typewriter Ribbons. Cleanest, longest, 3s. 6d. each, postage paid; 10s. three; 18s. 6d. six. Name models' colours, Peace News. Hardmans, 15 Prospect Place, Preston.

SAVE MONEY by re-using envelopes. Economy labels with slogan, "Use Your Freedom: Read Peace News." 1s. per 100, 8s. per 1,000. Order through your local PN distributor.

WOODCRAFT FOLK. Children's Peace Movement badly needs a typewriter. Will anyone be willing to give or sell cheaply. Write Secretary, 809a Hertford Rd., Enfield, Middx.

LITERATURE, &c.

GIFT FOR C.O.s in prison. "How Green Was My Valley." Relatives write. Marshall, 21 Wheatlands Drive, Bradford, Yorks.

BOOKS LOANED to C.O.s on land, etc.; without obligation. Write for list Marshall as above.

QUAKERISM. Information and literature respecting the Faith and Practice of the Religious Society of Friends, free on application to the Friends' Home Service Committee. Friends' House, Euaston Road, London, N.W.1

MEETINGS, &c.

BOURNEMOUTH, Orthodox Catholic Church, 12 Queens Park, West Drive, Sun., Oct. 10, 11 a.m. "The message of St. Francis for our day"; 6.30 p.m. "The Life of St. Francis." Preacher, the Revd. Brother Augustine Francis (Polish Old Catholic Church).

"CAN THE CHURCHES ABOLISH WAR?" Dr. Albert D. Belden expounds the "Pax Christi" plan in Harpenden Public Hall, Oct. 15, 7.30 p.m. Make this a great meeting of all Christian Peace Lovers; bring your non-pacifist friends; questions invited.

JOHN BARCLAY will speak on Sat., Oct. 16, after tea commencing at 5 p.m. at Friends House, 25 London Rd., High Wycombe. All heartily welcome.

MANCHESTER PPU SOCIAL, Sat., Oct. 16, 7 p.m. Onward Hall, 207 Deansgate. Tickets 1s. from PPU, 41 John Dalton St., Manchester 2.

NORTH LONDON Region: North London Players present "The Passing of the Third Floor Back" by Jerome K. Jerome, the play produced by Leslie F. Pitt, L.R.A.M., on Sat., Oct. 9, at 7 p.m. at Rowland Hill School, Lordship Lane, N.17. Tickets: Reserved 2s. 6d., unreserved 1s. 6d., from Nellie Hardy, 74 Ingleton Rd., N.18 or at door. (The North London Players are willing to receive bookings for this play; apply Nellie Hardy.)

THE LIBERTARIAN ANARCHIST Movement holds weekly discussion groups in London on Kropotkin, Read, Lohr, etc. Monthly news letter service. For information, write P.B., Top Flat F, 12a Colville Sq., W.11.

MISCELLANEOUS

GROUP MEDITATION (London). Yogs and Hare-Huxley theories. Active proponents write Bragg, Merville, 108 Tulse Hill, S.W.2.

MRS. J. HAMILTON, psychologist, correct breathing: simple, scientific, rejuvenating health and vitality. Consultations daily. Western 8935.

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PERSONAL

GENTLEMAN, cultured, member P.P.U. fond of music, drama interested in post-war problems would like to meet congenial friend either sex Manchester area. Box 122 PN, 3 Blackstock Rd., N.4.

JOIN Victory Correspondence Club, 34 Honeywell Rd., S.W.11, for congenial pen-friends. Stamp.

WORKING PARTY has children's garments in hand. Will Group Leaders who know of C.O.'s families in need write, strictly confidentially. Walton, Station Rd., W. Hagley, Stourbridge, Worcestershire.

SITUATIONS VACANT

A COMFORTABLE post offered man and wife in preparatory boarding school (15 miles London). Food production and cooking. Good pay and holidays. Apply: Principal, Brookhouse School, Turnford, Broxbourne.

ASSISTANT interested in machinery wanted for food manufacturing business near London. Box 120 PN, 3 Blackstock Rd., N.4.

COMFORTABLE bed-sitting room for couple, wife help in house, good wages, reference required. Clarkson, 16 Nascot Rd., Watford, Herts.

EXPERIENCED GARDENER required as working partner to start market garden in Midlands. Granlund, 75 St. Pauls Rd., Coventry.

FEMALE HELPER required for housework, Lincolnshire hostel for British and foreign farm trainees (aged 13-17). Democratic community offering scope social activities. Apply International Commission, 67 Brook St., London, W.1.

HOME AND small salary offered to middle-aged woman who could run easy bungalow for another at business during day. S. Coast. Box 118 PN, 3 Blackstock Rd., N.4.

MEN WANTED for market gardening near Bath. Reply stating experience. Box 114 PN, 3 Blackstock Rd., N.4.

SHERWOOD SCHOOL COMMUNITY (6 Burgh Heath Rd., Epsom 9125) needs two helpers; work mainly domestic; some cooking, matronning, gardening. Board, lodging, pocket money.

TWO VACANCIES occur for single men, cowman and arable worker, on 286-acre pacifist co-operative farm. Some experience required. Also single woman for domestic help. Bleasby Grange, Leggsby, Market Rasen, Lincs.

WANTED, BOY OR GIRL, 14-15 years, for work in bookshop, 6 Endsleigh St., W.C.1, where application should be sent to the Secretary.

WOMAN WANTED to help housework and part-time land, comfortable farmhouse West of England. Live in. Fellow workers mostly C.O.s. Box 121 PN, 3 Blackstock Rd., N.4.

YOUNG WOMAN with nursing experience, prepared to operate in light household duties, required at Gloucestershire hostel for refugee children (French, Belgian, etc.) aged 5-14. Knowledge French useful. Apply International Commission, 67 Brook St., London, W.1.

SITUATIONS & WORK WANTED

ARCHITECTURAL draughtsman with experience land and building surveying,